How to Hide Possible Peace Signals, P. 2

Say That Again? How to Be Lawful Though Lawless in One Easy Lesson

"Thailand has become America's main air base for war against North Vietnam. Officially, according to the Thai government, the U.S. planes do not exist. Officially no raids are made from Thai soil. Neither country considers she is violating international law as no war has been declared on North Vietnam."

—*"LBJ's Secret Second Front," Arthur Cook from Bangkok in the London* Daily Mail, *Sept. 21.*

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A Widening Gulf and A Deepening Despair

A terrible gulf is opening in our country. The victory of Maddox over Arnall in the Georgia Democratic primary is only the latest evidence that leadership is slipping to the poor white know-nothings in the South. Those who talk so scornfully about middle class liberals and want a working class third party might reflect on the fact that in the North as well as the South the bitterest resistance to the Negro's struggle comes from the white working class. And those who are making a slogan of "the unrepresented people" might notice that the racists of Grenada and Cicero also feel unrepresented by the Congresses which have passed so much civil rights legislation. Maddox's ax handles are as emotionally satisfying a symbol to these whites as Carmichael's black panther is to many Negroes. Both symbols point in the same direction, to racial war. We fight a civil war abroad while one grows up at home.

The New Secessionists

A new kind of secession is in the air. Not the simple territorial division, relatively easy to heal, which created the Confederacy but a less tangible secession more dangerous to the social fabric. There are an increasing number on right and left, among white and black, who would like to opt out—just where they do not know, but *out*. There is not only a readiness to tear down the pillars of society if they cannot obtain satisfaction, but even a perverse hope that all will fail. Behind the cry of black power, for all its smoother exposition for white sympathizers, lies an emotional urge to *separate*. The savagery in Grenada and Cicero reflects a readiness to get rid of blacks altogether if they try to come out from behind their ghetto walls. All the bestial hate that created the crematorium can be read in the face of white mobsters. I shuddered to hear a sociologist say at the opening of an NBC show last Sunday night on the race troubles of Chicago and Cleveland that we must either make the huge effort required to give the Negro real equality or exterminate him. He meant this as an impossible and unbelievable alternative. But anything can happen if demagogues, black and white, preach hate long enough.

To the secessionists of race must be added the secessionists of politics. Much of the New Left politics is an attempt in disillusion to secede from the American political system. The New Left convention in Los Angeles last week-end is a warning of what may happen nationally in two years time. From a distance the observer is appalled at the notion of what Reagan's defeat of Brown for the Governorship could do to American politics. But California liberals and Leftists are as disgusted with Brown as most of us in the country are with Lyndon Johnson. To read the brilliant and exhaustive indictment of Brown in the October *Ramparts* is to understand the furious sense of being sold out that made the New Left wash its hands of Brown even though this may mean a rightist victory. This is the mood in which many people are going to sit out the 1968 campaign. It's going to be hard to sell them Lyndon Johnson again as a lesser evil even if the Republicans —as now appears—run on a platform calling for A-bombs in Vietnam and more police clubs at home.

Even if Kennedy is on the ticket who will believe that Johnson will not again adopt the program against which he campaigned? Only peace in Vietnam can re-unite the ranks left-of-centre and leave our energies free to close the racial gulf at home. Only peace can end the fearful alienation of so many of our best intellectuals, black and white, men who could do so much in the urgent tasks of social reconstruction if once recalled from the wilderness of their own self-exile in revulsion against Johnson's barbarous war.

A Bombing Pause So Limited It's Almost Invisible

Don't Times Editors Read Their Own Paper?

"The orders issued last week for a limited pause in U.S. bombing of the demilitarized zone . . . represent a useful reinforcement of the peace offensive that began with Ambassador Goldberg's speech. . . ."

—*"Climate for Negotiation"* Times *editorial Oct. 2*

"Saigon, Sept. 30—A pause in the bombing of part of the demilitarized zone by U.S. planes has been ordered to encourage renewed international patrolling of the buffer zone. . . . For several days American bombers have been forbidden to bomb in the southeastern corner of the zone. . . . The sources here echoed denials in Washington that any general bombing pause had been ordered. . . . There had been speculation that such a military 'stand down' might be ordered . . . to give the Hanoi regime a better atmosphere in which to consider the U.S. representative's offer [at the UN]. . . . The bombing pause in a small part of the demilitarized zone might have caused confusion on this score. . . ."

—Charles Mohr, Saigon, in New York Times Oct. 1

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Ike's Reiterated Call for "Any Weapon" in Vietnam A Grave Development

How to Hide Possible Peace Signals From Public Attention

PEACE SIGNALS HUSHED UP AGAIN: Two days after Goldberg's speech at the UN, Premier Pham Van Dong of North Vietnam made a speech to a visiting Czech delegation which diplomats in Hanoi regarded as hopeful: he did not ask prior withdrawal of U.S. troops as a condition for peace talks and he asked only that the Viet Cong be accepted as an "interlocutor" in negotiations, not as the sole, legitimate representative of the South Vietnamese people. This made headlines in *Le Monde* and *Le Figaro* in Paris (Sept. 27). But until these French papers arrived several days later there was no clear indication in the U.S. press of just what Pham Van Dong had said. Here a State Department "backgrounder" Sept. 26 quickly disparaged the speech and said it showed "no discernible change" in Hanoi's position (*NYT* next day).

Even Goldberg in the Dark

When I tried to learn just what Pham Van Dong had said, I found that the text had been omitted from that day's foreign broadcast monitoring service available at State Department. To accent the negative it carried only some Hanoi newspaper attacks on the Goldberg speech. I found later that the text was available that day but in a restricted form for official use only. The text seems to have been kept even from Goldberg because when he came to Washington several days later and talked with reporters at the White House he referred hopefully to the French press reports about the speech from Hanoi and not to the text itself, which was much clearer. The swift burial of these possible peace signals was typical.

While LBJ is pictured as desperately scanning the horizon for any possible sign of peace, the Administration rapidly knocks down any signals which come into view. Four days after Pham Van Dong spoke, Hanoi pointedly rebroadcast in English a National Liberation Front interview with Wilfred Burchett (made available a month earlier, in Vietnamese by the NLF's clandestine radio) which invited "all social strata, nationalities, religious communities and patriotic personalities" to join in a broad front coalition government for South Vietnam. Only the heads of the present military junta were excluded. Add this proposal for a broad coalition to Pham Van Dong's withdrawal of the demand that the NLF be recognized as the sole spokesman for South Vietnam and you have the possibility of fruitful negotiation. But this too is knocked down at State Department as "nothing new." They won't see anything new until Ho Chi Minh turns up at the C street entrance and asks, please, where can he surrender?

BEFORE IT'S TOO LATE: Now is the time to rally all opposition to use of the A-bomb in Vietnam. One cannot exclude the possibility that Eisenhower in reiterating his "any weapon" stand is speaking at the suggestion either of the White House or of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Pastore, no dove, but chairman of the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy, indicated this possibility when he "implored" Johnson, McNamara, Rusk and the Joint Chiefs on the Senate floor Oct. 4 "not to maneuver the U.S. into a position where we have to use thermonuclear weapons."

WHY JUST SHUT OFF AID TO ISRAEL? The latest poll by Gallup released Sept. 21, shows Protestants more heavily against the Vietnamese war than Jews. The latter split 41-41, with 18% no opinion, while the Protestants 43% disapproved, 39% approved and 18% had no opinion. Only Catholics showed a majority approving the war (54 to 31 with 15% undecided). We suggest the White House let it be known there will be no more U.S. aid for Protestant countries until Protestants support him on Vietnam.

No Wonder Desertions Are So High When This Is How They Recruit

Qui Nhon, Vietnam—A 299th Engineer Combat Battalion soldier, who is a first generation Japanese American, recently experienced a very embarrassing moment when he was mistakenly drafted into the Vietnamese Army at Qui Nhon. As Specialist Four, Alfred B. Lee, 20, who works as a personnel specialist with HQ Company, was returning from pass at Qui Nhon recently. He noticed a Vietnamese Army truck stopped further up the road, with a serious looking ARVN soldier waving him over with a M1 carbine. The civilian clothes-clad specialist followed his natural instinct and accepted the soldier's invitation. Lee was ushered into the truck in which several Vietnamese civilians were dejectedly sitting. By virtue of sign language, he then realized that he had just been drafted into the Army of the Republic of South Vietnam. Fortunately for SP4 Lee, some of his buddies, who had been watching the scene from inside the nearby 299th Battalion compound, rushed down the road with the Battalion interpreter and saved the day by explaining that Lee was presently on active duty in the U.S. Army.

—The Vietnam Guardian (Saigon) last Aug. 3

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Fulbright Tries to Alert the Country to A Dangerous New Theatre of War

More U.S. Troops in Siam Now Than in Vietnam When LBJ Began Bombing

The most striking fact presented the Senate by Fulbright in his speech on Thailand last Monday is that there are more U.S. troops there now than there were in South Vietnam as recently as Jan. 1, 1965, just before Johnson began to bomb the North and pour troops into the South. There were 23,000 U.S. soldiers in South Vietnam then. There are more than 30,000 in Thailand now. Much of the money poured into the country is classified but Fulbright estimates that economic and military aid, and base construction costs, are well over a billion dollars. Though the Thai operation is shaping up as a possible major new theatre of war, government officials still refuse to testify in public about it. What this amounts to is the creation of a fait accompli in Thailand, undercutting Congress's constitutional right to make the decisions of war or peace. The Fulbright speech is an attempt to alert the country in time.

Dulles Sang A Different Tune

The State Department's favorite new excuse for putting troops into Thailand, as into Vietnam, is the SEATO treaty. But when that treaty was before the Senate for ratification (as Senator Young of Ohio recalled on the floor Sept. 28) John Foster Dulles said "if there is a revolutionary movement in Vietnam or Thailand," under the SEATO treaty "we have no undertaking to put it down; all we have is an undertaking to consult what to do about it."

Actually the treaty calls for two forms of consultation, one with our SEATO allies, since the treaty provides for action only on the basis of unanimity, and secondly with the Congress and the American people since action can only be taken "in accordance with constitutional processes." Fulbright said it was ironical that the Senate was being asked to give its advice and consent to trivial treaties with Thailand on double taxation and on commerce and navigation while the Administration keeps the Senate and the country in the dark on such huge military preparations and the secret understandings with Thailand which make them possible. Instead of being equal partners with the President, Fulbright said, Congress is becoming his instrument "easily and compliantly—if not enthusiastically."

The insurgency in the poverty-stricken northeast of Thailand is said to be the reason for our buildup. But "obviously," Fulbright said, "we have not sent 25 or 30,000 men and hundreds of planes to Thailand, and obviously we are not building multi-million dollar bases capable of handling the largest strategic bombers in order to meet a threat arising from 'hundreds' of insurgents. The Thais themselves should be able to handle a military threat of such dimensions. Thailand's armed forces total 130,000 men—an army of about 85,000; a navy of 25,000 and an air force of 20,000—and their defense budget for 1965-66 was over $90 million." In any case all this military hardware is irrelevant, as Fulbright noted, to the rural discontent on which the insurgency feeds. All the errors we made in supporting Diem are being repeated. We are establishing another military protectorate to keep another Oriental despotism in power.

At the UN on Sept. 27 the Foreign Minister of this regime, Thanat Khoman, seemed to be anxious to gag dissent here as his government does at home. He attacked critics of the Vietnamese war in Birchite terms as those "dissenting minorities . . . from legislative quarters, from the press, from the Church and from the uninformed academic circles" who "allow themselves to be carried away by their abstract and unrealistic assumptions or by their belief in false liberalism. . . ." Even more extraordinary, though not out of character with this, was his excursion into Nazi-style anti-Semitism. He attacked those "few nations in Asia" which have been "deluded into believing in alien doctrines born in the dark recesses of European ghettoes." This reads as if taken directly out of Goebbels' *Voelkischer Beobachter*. Ky admires Hitler and Khoman seems to have absorbed Hitler doctrines, perhaps during the World War II days when Thailand was the faithful paid ally of the Axis. We seem to have acquired another queer partner in our crusade to make Asia safe for democracy.

Somebody'd Better Start Classifying The Wall St. Journal As Top Secret

"He [Fulbright] felt the State Department would discourse volubly on aid to Togoland—$13 million—but not on the buildup of U.S. forces in Thailand. 'Why, they say there are no B52 bases in Thailand,' Fulbright drawled, 'but someone sent me an ad from the Wall St. Journal where one of those big construction outfits is advertising that it's doing that. . . .' On May 5 the San Francisco edition of the Journal carried a two column classified ad by Dillingham-Zachry-Kaiser for a chief photographer and a public relations officer. On top was a box containing the words: 'We are constructing a B-52 base and deep water port in South Thailand, approximately 100 miles southeast of Bangkok. . . .' That would be the enormous base still building near Sattahip on the Gulf of Siam, which officially belongs to Thailand's Navy, which according to a recent report owned one plane."

—John Maffre in the Washington Post Sept. 28

Conservative Columnist Back From Thailand Says Buildup There Is Aimed At China

"An abortive closed hearing was held recently in Washington on the big American buildup in Thailand. . . . Senators complained they could learn little and expressed apprehension that B52 nuclear bombers would be placed on a new airfield in Thailand. A great deal can be learned merely by going to Thailand where it is no secret that the American buildup is occurring. . . . Recently the Thai government permitted the release of some background information on the U-Tapao airfield, which has a 2.1-mile long runway that Congressmen fear will be used for nuclear bombers. . . . Involvement with Thailand is a deep and lasting one, and the Thais keep reminding you that it was not their idea, the U.S. asked for it. Eventual joint and combined operations of the Thai forces and the U.S. against the Communist forces of the north are in the planning stage. The Senate should know, if it does not already, that the buildup in Thailand far exceeds the requirement of fending off the few hundred hard-core Communist insurrectionists in the North. The Thailand buildup is aimed at China." *—Richard Wilson in the Washington Star Sept. 28*

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How the "Truth in Packaging" Bill Was Gutted By An Industry Lobby

Only the title of the "Truth in Packaging" bill as passed resembles the original measure introduced by Sen. Philip A. Hart (D. Mich). Hart's bill was designed to prohibit deceptive labelling and sales promotions ("cents off"—cents off what? and "six jumbo ounces"—what's a jumbo ounce?). The heart of the bill, Section 5d, on weights and quantities, was aimed to reduce the number of types of packages in which a company could market a product and thus to counter the deliberate confusion which reigns on supermarket shelves.

A Friend in Morton of Morton Foods

These provisions, though modified, were still recognizable when the bill passed the Senate in June. The lobby against it—perhaps the most powerful in the 89th Congress—found few friends in the Senate Commerce Committee. One of the few was Senator Thurston Morton (R. Ky) whose family founded Morton Foods. In the House the lobby had better luck. The labelling section was amended. Instead of prohibiting misleading labels, it merely provided that ingredients and package sizes must be clearly displayed; if the consumer didn't realize what she was reading that would be her hard luck. The heart of the bill on weights and quantities was eliminated altogether. In its place was a provision suggesting that industry voluntarily reduce and standardize sizes and quantities. In two years, if industry's record of self-reform isn't satisfactory, the Secretary of Commerce can come back to Congress and ask for regulation. A first report by the House Commerce Committee, quickly withdrawn, revealed that these revisions were made with the help of the "affected industries." In order to get the bill to the House floor at all, its supporters had to pledge ("our souls," as one of them put it) that they would not try to restore Section 5d on the floor.

The lobby had the bill beaten before it reached the House. The President vaguely supported consumer legislation. He never came out publicly for the Hart bill. He gave responsibility for the government's case to Secretary of Commerce John T. Connor, a former drug manufacturer, and no enthusiast for consumer legislation. "All Johnson wanted," said a member of the House Commerce Committee, "was a bill he could call a 'Truth in Packaging' Act. He didn't care what was in it."

They Got The Message

Sen. Hart asked 35 magazines to run stories on his "Truth in Packaging" bill. All refused. After Look Magazine ran an attack by the head of General Foods called "Let's Keep Politics Out of the Pantry," Hart asked its publisher Gardner Cowles for "equal time" to give the consumer point of view. Cowles refused. He wrote Hart that "the public" does not feel any strong need for reform in packaging and labelling." Saturday Evening Post and Reader's Digest commissioned articles but never published them. The Senate Commerce Committee hearings disclosed that behind this blackout was a talk with executives of these and other leading magazines by Paul Willis, then President of the Grocery Manufacturers' Association. Willis told them the time had come for them to understand their "interdependency" with their advertiser "bread-and-butter." They understood.

The NAM briefed Congressmen on the bill. The Grocery Manufacturers Association organized a special committee to fight it. Participating companies included Kellogg's, General Foods, Proctor & Gamble, Nabisco and Pet Milk. Bottlers, box makers; the candy, cosmetic and drug industries; the canners and even Better Business Bureaus were represented, though the last are supposed to prevent frauds not facilitate them.

Among the special pleaders were Neil McElroy, of P & G, once Ike's Secretary of Defense, and Wm. Geoghegan, an assistant deputy Attorney General under Kennedy and Johnson. Campbell Soup President Wm. Murphy, who had been on Secretary Connor's board at Merck, saw his old friend about the bill. The lobby needed a few liberals and managed to corral the following Democrats: Gilligan of Cincinnati (home of P&G), Mackay of Atlanta (Coca Cola), Murphy of Staten Island (Campell Soup) and Friedel of Baltimore. Six Congressmen were taken on a tour of Baltimore plants where machines bore special placards saying their operators would be out of work if Section 5d passed. One overwrought candy manufacturer even pleaded that the bill would take the romance out of St. Valentine packages and outlaw the hole in Life Savers.

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